

# YOUNG INDIA

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Vol. III

JANUARY 1920

No. 1

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PART

¶ "I looked upon the crowd (at Amritsar) as rebels and I considered it my duty to fire and fire well . . . . . A little firing was bad . . . . . I continued firing until we ran short of ammunition." (General Dyer, before the Imperial Committee which is investigating the Punjab disturbances).

¶ Result: Many hundreds were wounded and killed.

¶ "The English nurses refused to attend on the serious cases. When asked to do so they are reported to have said: 'They have been well served. They are rebels and we won't attend on them'" (Shrad-dhanand before the same Committee).

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Published Monthly by the India Home Rule League of America  
1400 Broadway, New York, N. Y.      15 cents a copy. \$1.50 a year.

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Entered as second-class matter September 15, 1909, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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# YOUNG INDIA

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## Editorial Notes

### Mr. Lajpat Rai Sails

As told by him in his farewell article published in our last issue, Mr. Lajpat Rai tried his best to get a passage to India via Europe. He sailed to his friends in England to secure their influence on the India Office. In return he was told by cable that he was allowed to go via France. But no official confirmation was received in that office.

However, believing that he would be informed through the British Consulate in New York in time, he booked his passage for December 24, leaving a sufficient margin for the arrival of the English mail. He waited for the permission until Monday noon, December 24, but did not receive any news. He was, therefore, obliged, to cancel his passage. But the same afternoon, the British Consul General took the "responsibility upon himself" (as he had not been instructed by the India Office) to send Mr. Rai's passport and allowed him to travel via the United Kingdom. He then immediately requested the steamship agents to release his passage, sealed his passport, and the League's affairs as best he could within the short time he had at his disposal,

and on Wednesday, December 24, 1899, sailed for Liverpool.

No sooner did his admission leave of his intended departure to India, telegrams and letters of appreciation and of good-will poured in the Young India office. In the city of New York there have well known were organized besides small meetings. Elsewhere in the next we give a short account of these discussions. The next issue will be 'The Lajpat Rai number.' We shall then give his own speech at the dinner of the League of Oppressed Peoples including his portrait. Due to lack of time, it was impossible for him to see his friends in New York and to answer each telegram or letter individually. So, he has requested us to thank all for their kindness through Young India. We do so most heartily and add that the people of India will never forget those who have extended their cooperation to Mr. Rai to carry on their work in the United States.

### Grant of Home Rule (?)

Mr. Montagu's reform scheme, slightly modified by the Joint Select Committee and carried through the House in a manner which India, of London,

characteristic as "martial law in the House of Commons" has now passed both Houses and is now on the Statute books as "The Government of India Act, 1919." Pending receipt of the complete text of the Act, we defer detailed criticism of the measure to a future issue. In contrast with the spacious promises of August, 1907, of representative and responsible government, as Mr. Ben Snow observed at the Round-Table Congress, the measure is "an *infinitesimal*" limited that all men east of the people would be excluded from the first class of seats." Another friend of India, Col. Wedgwood, said that the "beginning of responsible government in the legislature is not visible in the bill; there is not even a pin's point of light." The general attitude of our countrymen can be seen from the remarks of Justice (London, Dec. 22, 1919), the official organ of the Indian National Congress in England, which calls it a "house of horrors instead of liberty which is man's birth-right." Mr. Tish, whose life motto was to pocket these "crumbs, but fight and agitate strenuously for the whole loaf."

### The National Congress

Never before in the thirty-four years of its existence did the Indian National Congress meet with so heavy a heart as it did in December, 1909. With a fine determination, the representatives of the Indian people resolved to meet at Amritsar—the city which felt most strongly the iron grip of the military government. They met on morning under the presidency of Pandit Mohanlal Nehru, who worked strenuously to help the suffering people of the Punjab in the days subsequent to the tragedy. We

have no room of the actual proceedings except the following dispatch of the Associated Press which appeared in the New York papers. But with the knowledge of the country's feelings, we can imagine what has taken place at the Congress session at this critical time. However, we have to wait for full information.

#### The dispatch says:

"At the opening of the Indian National Congress to-day the President, Mohanlal Nehru, in his inaugural address referred to the tragic events in the Punjab. 'The meeting of the Congress, he declared, was in itself a tribute to the great number of victims of these heinous crimes.'

The plights of peace and Mohanlal Nehru, had passed empty. President Mohanlal Nehru's address was read. Progression had been peaceful and calmness maintained. Nehru, desiring peace, had been given an answer. Turkey's fate hung in the balance.

The President concluded that the official attitude before the House of Commons showed that martial law had been most fully proclaimed, ready for striking blows into the hearts of the people and to avoid trouble in the future.

#### Peace Celebrations

December 23, 24, 25 and 26 of 1909 were reserved for peace celebrations in India. The British Government wanted the Indian people to celebrate peace because their (British) arms was necessary in Europe.

Have, we wonder, would the people of other countries had if they were asked to celebrate peace when their innocent countrymen at home had been murdered by O'Donoghue the assassin of a foreign prince which might happen to be ruling there?

How can we celebrate peace when there is no peace of mind and body? Who can think of peace, when education atrocities are being committed under the name of law and order and when in

recent years, women and children are cruelly being murdered? Criminals, indeed, do they possess who ask India to celebrate peace when her heart is bleeding.

But India is no longer sleeping. With one voice she declared that she would not participate in a peace which has inflicted all the horrors of despotism in the country and take part in any celebration while the Punjab cries for redress.

The country refused to celebrate peace for another reason also. She says "there shall be no peace, if peace means the abandonment of Turkey."

Writing on this subject Mr. Gandhi said:

"There can be no peace in India so long as long as the Turkish question remains unsolved and the Mohammedan sentiment is in danger of being incited and millions of Mohammedans remaining in ignorance or grief. It is hardly possible for the Hindus, Europeans, Christians, Jews and others for whom India is the land of their adoption or birth, to take part in the forthcoming rejoicing. I venture to think that the British Government, if they will, tell the Majesty's Ministers that Indians must participate in the celebrations so long as the Khaki question remains unsettled and I do not hope that the Majesty's Ministers will recognize the necessity of ensuring and publishing an honorable settlement of the question before inviting us to take part in the Peace Celebrations."

### Boycott the Government

The entry between the two great communities in India and their sense of duty towards each other are growing every day. Probably the British Government will be forced to change its policies very materially. Today, the people of India are determined to have the Turkish question settled. On November 25, the Mohammedan lead-

ers of India met in Bombay and passed the following resolution:

(1) That the meeting of the representatives of all the Mohammedans of India places on record as profound gratitude to Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu sympathizers who evinced deep interest in the Khaki question.

(2) That in view of the threatening events relating to Turkey, Russia, the recent plague and famine, which have been caused by the continuation of peace, this meeting solemnly requests upon Indian Muslims unconditionally to refrain from participating in the forthcoming peace celebrations.

(3) That in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place, the Mohammedans of India shall progressively withhold all co-operation from the British Government.

(4) That in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place, the Mohammedans of India are determined to oppose that to give practical expression in three forms of discrimination a progressive boycott of British goods should be adopted.

"Withhold all co-operation from the British Government" and "progressive boycott of British goods" express the determination of the country. This is not a national fight only. The Turkish question has brought India into an international phase, which is a very good step forward.

### Congress Boycotts

On June 7, 1920, the All-India Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress appointed a Sub-Committee of nine members.

1. To arrange for the conduct of an enquiry into the recent outrages in the Punjab and other places through such agency as they may choose.

2. To take such legal or other proceedings as reference therein in India or in England, as may be necessary.





bits. Firms of regular standing are finding difficulty in getting in and so are being shut out by buyers.

On the other hand, American merchants also are trying their best to gain a foothold in India, in spite of the British attempts to keep them out. From the following it will be observed that the American Chamber of Commerce in London, after a hard fight, got permission to export dynamite to India.

Representations made by the American Chamber of Commerce in London have resulted in the Government of India restricting their Customs officials to admit freely into India prohibited drugs and dynamite without licence before September 1 from other than ex-emption countries and shipped before January 1, 1920.

On September 9, 1919, the American Chamber in London, a cable was received from the National Indian and Chemical Company of New York, stating that the Indian Government had, without warning, prohibited the export from India of all drugs and dynamite shipped from the United States after September 1. As in previous years had been given, orders had been issued and drugs and dynamite were being specially manufactured, packed and labelled for the Indian market and would be unusable elsewhere. The American Chamber of Commerce in London put the facts before the India Office, and suggested that several licences should be granted to those firms who had booked orders prior to September 1, in order to allow them to complete their manufacturing and to ship their goods. The cordially successful result is noted above.

### Prof. Bose's Invention

In our last number Prof. Jahn Bose gave some of the discoveries and inventions of Prof. Bose. Lady Sri J. C. Bose has demonstrated before some of the British scientific societies the latest invention of his, the Chronograph, which causes a spot of light to be reflected upon a screen giving a magnification of from one million to a hundred million times. With the help of this

instrument the growth of a plant, which is very slow, can easily be shown as a screen. Prof. Bose points out that the growth of a plant can be made subservient to the will of the grower, and by the use of the Chronograph these would be no need to wait a whole season as at present to witness the results of experiments.

While deeply and joyfully appreciative of his achievement, we also trust that his plucky invention can be made use of in detecting some sort of growth in the self-government of India, especially when it occurs the "New Era," and we hope that on "waiting" would be necessary to find whether the whole scheme, as a general rule, is capable of any growth at all.

### India's Foot

Writing to Mrs. Commonwealth (England), on November 7, 1919, an English friend of India says:

Had India self government, she would revert back to her ancient traditions, and that by doing so she would build herself a future far more rapidly than by borrowing from the West. There is no fact the witnesses of a world war. The traditions of India are India, the traditions of Russia are Russia, the traditions of Egypt are Egypt and the traditions of Ireland are Ireland. The traditions of a race are its private and popular as the traditions of a family. To break through those traditions is to destroy because it destroys the soul of a people.

The village community system of ancient India is a remarkable example of what she has lost by British domination. The self-sustaining village unit contributing to the prosperity of the village group, the collection of the means of production in the construction of roads and contingents, the responsibility for division of the harvest, the provision relating to education and hospital care a positive improvement in the fact that we have destroyed them in India, and failed to substitute them in the West. The fact is that in the late eighteenth

century and in the early nineteenth century we went to India to exploit her wealth. We wanted to the extent of increasing her food India, resources. A powerful, uneducated India, his and India. We have stolen the blood from her veins and covered the South from her bones, and having done this, as our constitution pointed pages we claim to "be India's problem." The state of India is a crime, and the only problem worth considering is how long we are going to allow it to remain on the conscience of Great Britain. But India will survive the wronging, for India has a soul.

### Not the Harbour

"The British Empire ceased to exist in August, 1914." This is the report, as it appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, England, sometime ago, of a statement made by General Smuts. Many startling assertions have come from this statement since the latter part of the war period and later. Especially his claim to reorganize the British Empire into a Commonwealth of Free Na-

tions have gained much publicity. During these days of uneducated language which provides its authors in double-dealing and peddling out territory for purposes of "racial adjustments" and "international reconstruction" and other things, we are afraid we will have to wait until Gen. Smuts's remark is possibly meaning that since the legislation first gave more than ever their strength unbridled and aware they may easily take over any possibility of Balkanization overwhelming their moral pretence of Empire by a subtle campaign from high quarters for a change of name from Empire to Commonwealth. Just now we have many indications of an epidemic of British propaganda throughout the world in behalf of the "New Charter" for India. The British Empire has neither ceased to exist nor, we believe, is there any probability of its becoming a "Commonwealth of Free Nations."

## Farewell Dinners

As a farewell to Mr. Lajpat Rai the League of Oppressed Peoples gave a dinner on November 28, at the Hotel des Anjous in New York. The League of Oppressed Peoples is a new organization formed to work for the freedom of all of the oppressed nationalities, India, Ireland, Egypt, Korea, Persia and China. Among the guests were representatives of all of these nations, and a delegate from each group bade Mr. Rai farewell, and good byes.

The Chairman of the League of Oppressed Peoples, Mr. Dudley Field Malone, formerly Assistant Secretary of State in the first Administration of Mr. Wilson and then Collector of the Port of New York, introduced the Toast

Master Mr. Villard, editor of the *New York Nation*. Mr. Malone expressed his personal regret at Mr. Rai's departure and compared him to those other persons of liberty who had visited America, Paine, Lafayette, Kosciuszko and Lincoln. Mr. Villard had given words on the point that America would follow Mr. Rai with its thoughts whatever he was and would watch the splendid work he did for freedom. He characterized Mr. Rai as "A man, brave and sound unshakable, a generous and noble interpreter of great races in our American democracy; a profound student of human liberties." He pledged also, the continued interest and help of America in India's struggle, quoting

Richard Cobden's opinion to express the American attitude.

The first speech was made by Dr. McCurtin, the official envoy to the United States of the Republic of Ireland, who expressed the feeling sympathy of Ireland with the cause of India and wished all kinds of good to Mrs. Lajpat Rai personally.

For the Chinese Miss Soumy Tilling, member of the Chinese Peace Delegation to Paris, spoke. She recalled that Dr. Sun Yat Sen during the Chinese Revolution of 1911 replied to the delegates of an Indian society who brought him congratulations: "The torch of liberty which is burning now in China sheds its light upon free India," and added "It is to be hoped that the light will become more powerful and burn over France."

Prof. E. K. Barker spoke in the name of India and of the houses and lives that India owes to Mr. Rai, emphasizing especially Mr. Rai's work as an educational leader.

The Honorable Mr. Patrick Lawrence who has been visiting America gave the address for England. He said: "It is of supreme importance that England should be represented here on this occasion. It is one of the first mistakes that persons make of choosing a whole people together and wanting to hang them with one rope. There is no one England; there are many Englands, and the government that is at present governing my country is very rapidly losing the support of every section of the English people." He pointed out that the British Labor Party would agree completely with Mr. Rai's program for India, and if they come to power will help to realize such a program, and expressed the

hope that when India does win her freedom she will work for, not the hatred that follows catastrophe, but friendship, the marriage of the East and the West that "will give birth to an offspring that will be a blessing to the world."

The Honorable Mr. R. S. Kaner, of the Bombay Legislative Council, who was in New York, spoke briefly, deploring the role of Mr. Rai and emphasizing the difference in the attitude toward India of Englishmen as boys and Englishmen who have crossed the Ocean; far in London, he said, the opinion was that India ought to get her freedom at an early decent date.

Dr. Norman Thomas, a prominent New York statesman, thanked Mr. Rai for the lesson he had taught America, the lesson of what Imperialism means and the failure in which Imperialism is doomed, and begged Mr. Rai not of the wisdom of the East to help the West realize the freedom for which she, too, is struggling.

The last speech of the evening was made by Prof. A. U. Pope. He said: "Whether in religious reform, or in educational reform, or in poor relief, or in social, or quiet political work, whether he was dealing with Indians or Europeans, he kept his head, he kept his courage and he kept his patience and he is now one of those that India delights to have." Then turning to Mr. Rai he asked him to remember America at her best, and concluded: "we do follow you now and always, with loving and affectionate interest, and whatever happens we shall watch and, maybe, we shall act."

Mr. Rai responded with a summary of the events of his stay in America and an expression of his hope that in India

the beginning of the development of real freedom has come.

## II.

Another farewell dinner was organized by the Indian residents of New York at the Taj Mahal Hotel Restaurant on November 30, which was attended by about six persons, mostly Indians, and a few Americans concerned in the social and educational side of the Indian problem. Speeches were made by Mr. S. M. Kary (who acted as chairman), Swami Bhaktived, Dr. Hardiker, Mr. S. N. Bose, Mr. Tashnath Das, Miss Herveira Rodman, Dr. G. L. Rao, Mr. Chatter, Mr. B. Das, Mr. M. M. Joshi, Mr. P. V. Gokhale and Mr. Mohammad Asaf, mentioning and enlarging the services rendered by Mr. Rai in the social and educational reconstruction of modern India. A beautiful silver vase was presented to Mr. Rai by the chairman, in the name and in behalf of the Indian residents in New York as a mark of their respect and love for him.

The last speech of the evening was made by Mr. Tashnath Das who expressed his great appreciation of the educational and constructive work being done by Mr. Rai. Mr. Rai himself made a lengthy speech in the course of which he related the story of the work he had done here. He said he was particularly gratified with the spirit which underlay the evening's function, considering that those who differed from him fundamentally and automatically in politics had in wholeheartedly expressed to make a success. He said he was deeply touched by the speeches they had made on the occasion. It was at some length that he dilated on the importance of the work to be done in India, which

in his judgment required the services of all of her sons in her present condition. He begged his young countrymen to step and do nothing that would stand in the way of their returning to India. He refrained from discussing politics, but gave a brief history of the development of his political views since 1893, and said that although in other respects he had changed considerably, his political views had undergone no substantial change. He had always been a constitutional Home-Ruler, and he was still of the same opinion because anything beyond that was not in his judgment practical politics. He was sure that at times he had considered it necessary to use strong language about those of his countrymen who were working for complete independence even by the use of force, but the justification of a lay in the fact that usually he had never refused to sit and associate with them.

## III.

On December 2, the Civic Club of New York, of which Mr. Rai has been a member almost from its foundation, organized a dinner in his honor which was well attended by his American and Indian friends. The dinner was presided over by two speeches, one by Mr. N. M. Joshi, of Bombay, on the Indian situation in India and his work in the International Labor Conference at Washington, D. C., and the other by Mr. Rai, on the New Internationalism. Mr. Rai pointed out that while religious, national and Capitalist Imperialism had failed to establish universal brotherhood, the New Internationalism based on equality and industrial equality was likely to make the world truly international and one family. The dinner

was presided over by Dr. Kerkhove, late Professor at Columbia University and now head of the State Employment Department, who is the president of the club, and speeches were made by Miss Henrietta Salzman, Miss Ruth Stevenson, Mr. Froyne Hickman of the New Republic, and Mr. B. W. Hartsch. The speakers spoke of the importance of the work done by Mr. Rao for India

as the U. S., of his moderation, honesty, integrity and breadth of viewpoint and wished him his career and a greater career in his native land. All the speeches were marked by a tone of regret at his departure from amongst them. Mr. Rao suitably acknowledged the compliments paid to him and said that he would never forget his friends in this country.

## The Delhi Tragedy

Since the Committee on the Punjab Disorders under Lord Hailey has been holding its sittings most witnesses—both official and non-official—have been heard, and much important evidence is now available, though it will take a long time to learn the whole truth. Many who could give the best information on the subject have been deported, imprisoned, hanged or executed. The statement submitted by Sir John Stansfeld, chairman who guided the people of Delhi in those critical days of March and April 1931, is the fullest as far as available on the Delhi Disorders from a reliable source. It is at once direct, truthful and convincing. We give a few extracts from it below.

A person giving information for the disclosure of the day of lamentation was not named and published in the *delius*. It was partly as follows:

"The 30th of March should be remembered as a day of mourning. Closing all business and shops, etc., one should spend the day in wishing well for the country, in adorning his own mind and in philanthropic work. Every woman, man and child should attend the meeting at 3.30 o'clock."

Accordingly all business was being suspended that day. But at 3.30

o'clock "some gentlemen came running from the Railway Station saying that as some people asked the station shops to close, a European Railway Official came and threatened them. When told it was no business of his to interfere, he had whistled to the police, who took five men out of the collected mass as custody. The people said that if their men were given up they would go away. Then the police began to belabour them with sticks and soldiers with a machine-gun were arriving when they led to report to me."

"I left immediately for the Railway Station. There I heard that the machinemen had fired indiscriminately and about a dozen had either been killed or wounded, the bodies being dragged into the Station yard. There had included a Railway manager with two women, as they said."

"The meeting which was held with an audience of about 5000 people was addressed by the British, and after its conclusion the people were quietly dispersing under his lead. This is what occurred then."

"I asked the huge audience to follow me and to leave quietly when entering their homes. We were walking to order. When we were entering the

Club Tower, Gurditars were in the middle of the road, in single file facing both ways. One among us they marched to the right foot-board. We thought they had left the road in order to enable us to proceed, but when we reached near them, a rifle was fired into the crowd. There was a stir and a deep tone of excitement among the crowd as once was. The I asked all to halt and they stopped. In my Sharada dress (the uncoloured dress during fasting persons who have renounced worldly interests for the interests of humanity) I went up to the foot-board and asked the Gurditars why they were doing an unbecoming, peaceful people. Two rifles were immediately pointed at me and they began firing as a very loud noise "you in chief danger (we will please you). I stood quietly before them and said Main Shikhs Aun, jeh mare (I am standing, fire). At once eight or ten more rifles were aimed at my breast and head and shots continued to be made."

"The crowd could contain itself no longer and was about to rush, when a wave of my hand and a short appeal to their wits stopped them. But they were saying: 'Get us the car and run you, let us die.' The rifles had continued pointed at my breast for some three minutes, when a European on horse back approached and asked the only policeman present whether he had ordered firing. I stepped forward and asked the European officer whether he had heard the rifle fire. He imperiously answered that he was inquiring about it."

"I then left, with the people following me. Then there was a strange sight.

A Gurditars came near me brandishing his mallets in right and left. He was being moved down to left. The machine-gun man was sitting away overlooking us, with the gun constantly pointed at us, and with hand of the gunner on it. The crowd was further moved down now impatient. At Frodoport I saw many of them leave, but again many followed till I reached my place where all (Hindus and Mohomedans) took appropriate leave of me."

The following remarks apply to a meeting after March 31:

"It is necessary at this place to emphasize that the work of calming the perturbed minds of the people by the utterances of the Satyagrahi Sabha and the other Delhi leaders was made difficult by the chauvinistic attitude of the C. I. D. people. On the 31st of March, 1931, while I, Baldev Agnihotri, Mr. K. A. Doshi and others were trying to get shops closed, two or three men were found haranguing people not to open shops until the dead bodies were removed. One of them was recognized by Mrs. Doshi to be a C. I. D. man and Mr. Doshi ran to catch him. But the man disappeared among the crowd. Again on the 1st of April while I with B. B. Sahas Singh got shops, on one from Frodoport to the Club Tower, opened, we saw a crowd being addressed by somebody belated as 'We cannot back out, standing on R. E. Lala Sahas Singh's carriage, I asked the man (Mohomedan) what his object was, he a pose which appeared to me to be affected, he said: 'How can you understand the feelings of those who have had their relatives killed. If any relation of yours had been killed



you would never have advised the ending of the *harkis*?" (*Chaudhary* in business in protest of previously.) I asked him point blank: "What relation at years has been killed?" The man appeared to be unpleased and put at that moment one of the assembled *harkis* who accompanied him as a member of the C. I. D. No answer was the remark made that the man disappeared as if the earth had swallowed him."

Mass meetings at the workings of the Agents provocateurs are then given by him.

On the 3rd of April business was again suspended at everywhere else in India. "More than 100,000 people assembled that day and there were more than eight million meetings—"

The proceedings came to an end peacefully and up to the evening of the 5th of April there was calm in the city. On the morning of April 6th, there was again a complete halt, on account of the news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. The suspension of business continued, and meetings of protest were held everywhere, and it was the calm leadership of Swami Shrikrishnan which reconciled the armed people to a peaceful demonstration.

The Swami arrived at the following conclusion, in part:

"I. There was no need for firing at the Railway Station on March 23rd, 1919. If the authorities had sent a car for me, I would have reached the Railway Station within a minute and the crowd would have at once dispersed. I live near the Railway Station—"

"II. There was absolutely no justification for firing at the Townhall gate.

"III. The Magistrate and the police erred in taking the dead bodies and the

wounded to the Police Hospital on the morning of March 23rd, where there was no sufficient medical for dressing the wounded properly. It was only after a deputation of the leaders had waited on the Chief Commissioner and had gone with them to the Police Hospital that the dead and the wounded were (about 24 hours after being fired at) taken to the Civil Hospital and dead bodies delivered to their relatives and the wounded properly dressed. The English never refused to attend on the various cases. When asked to do so they are expected to have said: 'They have been well served. They are rich and we must attend on them'—one words is their offer." (All sides in the above are true.)

### Confessions from their own mouths

We have given in previous issue at reports of the Punjab "rebellion" some remarks appearing in the daily press of India and from letters received from ex-servicemen. Perhaps the fullest account of it is contained in Pandit Malaviya's questions in the Viceroy's Council, practically all of which put events in perspective. However, the character and extent of the "Imperialist heathery" (*London Daily Herald*) is a new phase to the world through reports published recently of the statements of General Dyer before the Imperial Committee now investigating the Punjab disturbances.

The most atrocious deed of all was that committed under the command of Dyer in the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar where a gathering of men, some 30,000 men, women and children, assembled to peacefully protest against the Rowlatt Legislation was "dispersed" by

a continuous firing of 30 minutes, resulting in the death of 300 and thousands many being wounded.

The following statement taken from the *New York World* which published a rather lengthy and descriptive account of the evidence of Dyer will reveal the very meanness of the British Plan.

At 10:15 Dyer found that a meeting was to be held on the evening, and at about a school he received orders from the meeting had assembled. Dyer immediately mounted his car with a force consisting of twenty-five British rifles, twenty-five Indian rifles, forty Carabins and two mounted men with machine guns.

He proceeded at an ordinary walking pace, as it was very hot. He reached the Jallianwala Bagh about 11:15 P. M. The low lying plain is surrounded by buildings with flags on four corners, very dark large. The meeting was going on at the southeast corner of the Bagh, being addressed by one Hans Raj, prominent in the recent political agitation.

When Dyer arrived on the scene he proceeded through the narrow entrance and deployed his men on a piece of raised ground at the northern extremity. The crowd facing him was estimated at more than 10,000. The crowd was not asked to disperse. Within thirty seconds he ordered his to be opened.

A great run went up from the crowd and they straggled slowly to an end of the Bagh (Garden). The firing was not a military, but each man took his own life. Dyer subsequently said he was not firing until he was short of ammunition. Altogether eight rounds were fired, and it lasted about ten minutes.

Dyer says the firing lasted less than ten minutes. The minutes lasted was between 10 and 15, and the wounded is estimated at three times that number.

Dyer considered that he might be about eight miles' if his order for holding meeting "had been defied." It did not occur to him that there might be good reason for the assembly which did not bear of his order. He merely considered it

his "duty" to "disperse" the crowd by rapid fire.

Asked why he did not stop firing when the crowd began to disperse, the witness said he thought it his duty to go on firing until the crowd had dispersed, and that a halt firing would not be achieved. In all, the firing went on for less than ten minutes. He had some more firing in that very location, but it was an exceptional case.

Referring to Bangalore, the witness said it was a moral lesson of punishment under martial law. He looked upon public firing as production of a just impression.

Questioned as regard to the crowding order and the reason which led the witness to instruct it on the stage at which Miss Sherwood was arrested, Dyer said that on the stage there were a number of boxes and possibly more had no back entrance, but his order was there only from 8 A. M. to 11 P. M. and people leaving in that crowd could go out after three hours of night going along the roofs. Some slight inconvenience was no doubt caused.

Asked if he could not see that the order had a different effect from that he intended, the witness declared American had behaved very badly. It was not his intention to kill innocent men to send away the place. He merely wanted to break the crowd and his did not have that a party of protesters were made to crowd. He wanted to look in the crowd only people who were concerned in assembling Miss Sherwood. The order was continued from the north to the east and was revealed under special orders. He would have wanted it on the north, but he had a great deal of other matters in their mind.

Although there was no proclamation of martial law he thought everything here he had taken things into and martial law was on him. Asked if it was not possible to prevent the meeting by forbidding the witnesses declared he had not enough troops for that. If the people showed his prohibition he was not to help them, but it did not be was not to make them stop.

Asked if he also was to order troops at Jallianwala Bagh the witness said if he found they had disobeyed his order he meant to punish them and give them a lesson. His idea was that from a military point of view it would make a wide impression throughout the Punjab.

the Justice Shastri to the enquiry and  
 "Excuse me for putting it this way, Gen-  
 eral, but was it not a case of hospital-  
 ity?"

Dye replied:

"No, it was a horrible day I had to per-  
 form. I think it was a terrible thing. I  
 thought that I should shoot and slay, and  
 that I am saying also about all these  
 in detail again. If I had the right to live  
 now that, I had the right to live a lot of  
 more. I arrived at the logical conclusion  
 that I must deprive the crowd, who had  
 defied the law of the law. There was no  
 reason to do. The one thing was done."

Asked if he did not remember it his duty  
 to punish the Deputy Commissioner in re-  
 gard to the extreme measures, the witness  
 said there was no Deputy Commissioner in  
 the case and his mind was already made  
 up. His object was to disperse the crowd,  
 and he was going to live and they dis-  
 persed.

Asked what reason he had to suppose the  
 crowd would not have dispersed without  
 firing, he said:

"I think it quite possible I could have dis-  
 persed the crowd without firing but they  
 would have come back again and laughed,  
 and I should have made what I consider to  
 be a fool of myself. The action I took was  
 not to much a question of the British  
 system. I considered it my duty to fire,  
 and fire well."

"Was there any other moral?" asked  
 Lord Hewart.

"No, no. I looked upon it as a duty—a  
 very horrible duty."

Asked if he did not think it a disgrace to  
 the British flag (British authority and  
 command), the witness replied in the nega-  
 tive and said what he did was right and he  
 ought to be thanked for it.

"After this long talk there did you make  
 any statement in relation to the movement?"

"No, certainly not. I was not my job.  
 The hospitals were open, and they could  
 have gone there."

"This action of yours, which, as we know,  
 has resulted in four or five hundred people  
 being killed, was it approved by the British  
 Government?"

"I believe so, certainly."

He had never heard that on the night of

the night that bodies at Jallawalla Bagh  
 were mutilated.

One of the members of the committee  
 then read out a telegram from Lahore to  
 the General which said: "Your action con-  
 sidered. Government General approved." (The  
 Lieutenant Governor at the time was Sir  
 Michael O'Dwyer.)

In the course Gen. Dye saw the end of  
 the rebellion. Martial law was imposed  
 on April 15, and that day Gen. Dye issued  
 an order that all persons passing through  
 the streets in which Mrs. Bhambhani had  
 been attacked would have to crawl on their  
 hands and knees. Several persons did this,  
 and some did it out of their hearts and  
 the persons who were arrested for the at-  
 tacks on Mrs. Bhambhani were publicly hanged  
 in the same street.

In explanation of the order that the ac-  
 tions must crawl, the General said:

"My look upon women is sacred. I  
 regarded it my duty to fire a shot of punish-  
 ment that would make the action. I felt  
 that the crowd should be looked upon as  
 sacred and no Indian should pass along it  
 and if they had to pass along there they  
 should do so on all fours. I looked upon  
 public walking as evidence of a good in-  
 stitution."

In his evidence Dye stated that de-  
 fiance of his order prohibiting the hold-  
 ing of meetings was to itself rebellion.  
 He said it for granted that civil disorder  
 meant the existence of rebellion. With-  
 out attempting to define rebellion tech-  
 nically and to show whether the meet-  
 ings in Lahore, Amritsar and elsewhere  
 were rebellious or not, it is enough to  
 state that Dye and his associates consid-  
 ered that by disobeying it or doing and  
 wounding there is many the British flag  
 in India would be made safe and saved.  
 The whole groundwork of Martial Law  
 as it operated in the Punjab was built up  
 on the spirit of the wall who said to the  
 lords "If you have not committed the  
 crime, your father must have. He has  
 are my prey."

## INDIA WAKING

By GEORGE BOWEN.

Dark-browed India  
 Sealed in slumber still,  
 Wrapt in shadows,  
 Swathed in mystic glooms,  
 How long must these dreams last?

The world is calling . . . calling . . .  
 In bleeding need of subtle balm,  
 Aches for wisdom—they would win,  
 In quest of spirit food . . .  
 Secret of thy hidden might . . .  
 O why slumber on?  
 Come forth, India,  
 Forth from thy dream-wrought apathy,  
 Into the day! Into the light!

She sits . . .  
 The traces of a long twilight  
 Lingers from her brow . . .  
 A pall of potent gloom  
 Pierced by shafts from the Rising Sun . . .  
 Lo, a pregnant night of torture past!

## Books and Pamphlets

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Young India . . . . . \$1.50           | 1. Truth About India . . . . . \$1.00      |
| 2. England's Debt to India . . . \$1.00   | 2. Self-determination for India . . \$1.00 |
| 3. Political Future of India . . . \$1.50 | 3. British Rule in India . . . . .         |
|   | (By Sumner Fraser) . . . . . Free          |

We are now allowed to sell "England's Debt to India." A set of  
 Mr. Ba's three books, if bought in one lot, will cost four dollars  
 only. Postage extra.

GENERAL MANAGER, Young India,  
 140 Broadway, New York.

## India in 1917-18

By D. S. Rao.

Even one year's record in the whole history of India under British rule is enough to show that the latter is not of place in that category. There has been no harmony of interests or understandings between the government and the governed even when law and order have been reported to reign supreme. The reason is that the people and the government almost invariably use different codes of reference for peace and justice. For example the bitter cry of the Barrenness is that India's prosperity today is greater than ever, whereas the people claim that India has been drained of her health and wealth and that she has been preyed upon by death and disease and that she has been ruled by the mailed fist. The Imperialist observes that the war has deepened India's interest in the Empire. So blind is he, the people claim, that he has totally ignored the new impulse of the law sweeping there, which has a deeper meaning than their interest in the Empire. In every encounter between the rulers and the people victory has been claimed by both, which, of course, is possible only by using different codes.

Let us here make a test of the foregoing statement by referring to the history of India during the years 1917 and 1918. The Government of India has had its record written before others have attempted to do it, by Mr. L. P. Roddick-Williams. He begins with India's "contribution" to the war in men and money. Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy, and in 1917 that India was "bled steadily white," and still she made a "free gift" of £100,000,000.

Speaking about the "gift" Mr. Williams observes, that it "adds over 30 per cent to India's national debt, is rather more than her entire income for a whole year and entails an extra annual burden of 50 per cent of that income for its maintenance. In 1920, further taxation was found 'possible'." This is not all, India may have been poor, but the Government proclaimed she was always willing to oblige England by imposing taxation and debt upon herself. In September, 1918, again she made a further contribution of £45,000,000; besides £121,500,000 for the upkeep of additional military forces in India since the armistice. It is not necessary here to state the full amount that given by India in money and materials which in part at least saved the people of Great Britain from the pangs of privation. But it is necessary to notice the different meanings of "gift" in this connection.

The material effect of war has been to strengthen commerce and industry, observes Mr. Williams, and continuing says "on the whole the war has broadened her outlook, it has deepened her interest in the Empire. It has aroused hundreds of people to a realization of the problems lying outside their immediate environment. In short, it may well prove to be the beginning of a new era, not merely in the relations of India to the Empire, but also in the internal life of India herself." While the baronetcy is so optimistic about this "new era" the latter will hardly prove comfortable to his subjects when it will actually come. That the war has "broadened India's outlook" should be interpreted not by

Imperialist pronouncements of India's new place in the Empire, but by his own pronouncement of self-determination.

With the end of the war came the first demand of the whole population of India expressed through a resolution passed by the National Congress in 1918. "This resolution showed the uncomprehending spirit and frank flouting of all claims of provinces and expediency which marked the new party," says the official chronicle, and continues, "By the early summer of 1917 that portion of the public of India which was interested in political matters had become constituted in its aims. The more than the Allies were unwisely fighting in defence of the rights of small and weak nations against strong and large ones; the strong world movement towards government by popular opinion—all these combined to new vague hopes and to stimulate discontent with the existing policy of India." The development of world politics since the armistice has disillusioned India of the conditions of Imperialist rule and of any possibility of democracy in an Imperialist struggle in which she has been caught and misled.

"The Economic Background" forms the topic of the third chapter of Mr. Williams' book. The utter inadequacy of housing facilities in India, and its effect on the development of investment and all that such development implies, is pointed out here. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission "shows how little the march of modern industry has affected the great bulk of the Indian population which is engaged in agriculture, winning bare subsistence from the soil by antiquated methods of cultivation." Prices of foodstuffs rose to 71

per cent above pre-war level, according to the author. "This was sufficient to cause deep distress in the country, where the margin of income now has subsistence is extremely small for the bulk of the population. . . . The prices of all the ordinary commodities, such as opium, oil, cloth, ironware and salt, were raised to abnormally high figures by shortage of supplies and the profusion of large dealers who controlled the market." Add in this the failure of the monsoon in 1918, and the "arrangements to buy the Allied requirements of rice, estimated at 1,000,000 tons monthly, from Burma," and the exportation of large quantities of food stuffs in the previous years, and famine was an inevitable consequence. In many parts of India famine is still an existing factor.

Coming to education the author observes, "The cost of the whole present position of Indian education is financial. As is suggested by the fact that the total expenditure is 754 d. per head, such education as exists tends to be cheap and inferior in quality." As an explanation of such a low expenditure, he traces out the familiar plan that the salary of the state must come first and therefore the military expenditure which forms the largest single item on the Budget should be considered before anything else. This explanation accords perfectly well with the Barons' and Imperialist code. It is ironically suggested that security from violence is of greater importance than popular education, which alone can ward off that possibility. The author seems to think that by his suggestion that the local bodies should be willing to "tax themselves" he is offering something novel and encouraging. His opinion

have a different opinion, as witness the Minto report which admits that "there are rapid limits to the available capacity of India, leaving out of consideration the fact that three-quarters of the population depends upon agriculture," and "the average of subsistence of the mass of the population of India is so small that any substantial rise (in prices) must affect them with severity." Sir Frederick Mear (formerly Minister of Education), recently said: "In almost all the local councils attempts are being made to introduce private bills for colonial compulsory education. These bills are allowed to be introduced only on condition that no financial responsibility is thereby imposed on the Government. Local resources are inadequate and such education as is imparted will not be efficient. Without Government financial assistance, the scheme will not succeed or even amount to put into operation." There is neither quality nor quantity to the education imparted, while Mr. Williams remarks: "Political agitation alone occupies the minds of boys to a most undesirable extent." What is food for not in politics

for the other.

There are some admissions regarding governmental activities. "Despite these advances, the police are not popular in India. . . . In short, for all their work, the police are little trusted by the rural sections of Indian public opinion. In India the constable is not looked upon as a friend of the peaceful citizen as much, as his parental opponent." Of course, in the author's opinion, the fault lies with the people themselves for such an attitude.

With all the pain and humiliating and suffering which the people and their spokesmen had to undergo during this period, one fruitful thing they have achieved. They have emerged from the struggle with a vigorous national consciousness and a spirit of self reliance in political life. They have gained a better insight into western diplomatic psychology and methods, and they realize more than ever that capital and colonizer's intrigues are the tightest galls on a subject nation. India has certainly learnt a lesson, and, we hope, she will be prepared to teach her own in the near future.

## News in Brief

People of the United Provinces are thinking of establishing three new universities in their province. One is Lucknow, another in Allahabad and the third at Agra. The one at Allahabad is to be a residential university. It also also is carried out, the United Provinces will have five universities in all, including the present Allahabad University and the Benares Hindu University. Will our this example be followed by the rest of the other provinces in India?

Bombay's progressive leaders are organizing a "Social Democratic Party." They have already started a company called "The National Democratic Publishing Company" with a capital of five lakhs of rupees (50,000,000 of Rs. 10 each). They intend to publish a daily which will be the organ of the new party.

Since the war India has earned a new era. People are awakened to the new

era and they are trying their best to serve their motherland. In the month of September, 1920, alone, according to the Department of Industries of India, 59 new companies were floated in Bengal as against 15 in the corresponding month of 1918. The national capital of these Bengal factories is Rupees 25 crores or 25 times greater than in the corresponding date of 1918.

The total All-India factories were 115 as against 35 in the corresponding month of 1918.

The youth of Madras Presidency is now being organized under the banner of the Nationalists. From the elaborate programme they put forth in the first Nationalist Conference held at Madras under the presidency of Mr. K. R. Jayaram, the eldest of The Hindu, on November 8 and 9, 1919, it seems that they are tired of the moderation of the old leaders and are determined to work vigorously and systematically for the attainment of *Swami* (Government by the People). To carry on this work they have organized a Central Council and a Working Committee. The latter will consist of eight members and will be responsible to the former.

In order to clothe everyone comfortably, India must produce per head 12 1/2 yards of cloth more than she is producing today. The average annual production of cloth per head is only a 6 1/2 yards while 12 yards per head are needed. Some are working on the revival of the ancient weaving industry while others are enthusiastically adopting modern methods in order to meet the demand. It is unanswerable to say just what system suits India best so long as every

man, woman and child get enough cloth to wear and protect their bodies from wind and cold. The only thing we must guard against is that such a system should not be controlled by foreign or domestic capitalists.

The Department of Statistics at Calcutta has issued a Report (No. 262) on Indian Index Numbers and commodity prices. The figures of the figures presented in the large are as follows in the first six months of 1919. Taking 100 as representing the 1913 average in each case, it is shown that the figure for food and drink was 145 in 1918 and 201 in the first half of 1919. The cost of textiles generally between these two periods was from 145 to 184, in June from 65 to 120 in all India and all from 55 to 175. The general commodity index Number rose from 100 in 1913 to 155 in 1918, and 202 in the first six months of 1919.

The Department of Industries, Travancore State, South India, reports that there are more than forty spinning-spinning plants and more in the State, these resources, however, are little touched. The State has recently set a young Travancore in Leeds to be trained in textile manufacture. A list of over thirty different kinds of fibre available in Travancore, with short descriptions, is given in the report, copies of which may be purchased from the Superintendent, Government Press, Travancore.

There was a strike of millhands in Calcutta, which starting from modern mills, has spread to cotton mills and several thousands of mill hands are now idle. The workers demand a large increase in wages.

## Some Books on India

The following is a complete list of books on the economic and political situation in India. We recommend these to all students of Indian problems, and to those who are anxious to know the truth about India. Some of the books (those marked with an asterisk) are published abroad, but could be found in any public library in the United States. The others can be obtained through Young India bookshop, 1440 Broadway, New York City.

ABHEDANANDA, SWAMI	: India and Her People
*AJANGER, S. R.	: Ancient India
*BESANT, ANNIE	: The Case for India
	: How India Wrought for Freedom
	: India, a Nation
BOSE SUDHINDRA	: Some Aspects of British Rule in India
*CHATTERJI, RAMANANDA	: Towards Home Rule—3 volumes
*COTTON, SIR HENRY	: New India.
*DIGNY, SIR WILLIAM	: "Prosperous" British India
*DUFF, GRANT	: History of Mahatmas
*DUTT, BOMESH C.	: Ancient India
	: England and India
	: India in the Victorian Age
	: India Under Early British Rule
	: India, Nationalism and Impressions
	: The History of Aryan Rule in India
	: Bureaucratic Government
	: Bankruptcy of India
	: India in Transition
	: The Awakening of India
	: The Position of Women in India
	: Land and Labor in a Deccan Village
	: Foundations of Indian Economics
	: Fundamental Unity of India
	: History of India's Shipping and Maritime Activity
	: Poverty and Un-British Rule in India
	: The New Spirit in India
	: Footfalls of Indian History
	: Studies from an Eastern Home
	: Web of Indian Life
RAI, LAJPAT	: England's Debt to India
	: Political Future of India
	: Young India
RAWLINSON, H. G.	: Shivaji the Maratha
	: Indian Historical Studies
*SHASTRI, SHRINIVAS	: Self Government for India
SMITH, VINCENT A.	: Early History of India
*WEDDERBURN, SIR WILLIAM	: The Indian Ryot
	: The Session of the Jubilee Feast

(To be continued)